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# THE GREAT DOMINION,

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AN ADDRESS

BY

EDWARD JENKINS, ESQ., M.P.,

AGENT GENERAL FOR CANADA,

TO THE

MANCHESTER REFORM CLUB:

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Montreal:

DAWSON BROTHERS, PUBLISHERS.

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When an Englishman sets his face westward from Queenstown or Londonderry he looks across the seas towards an appanage of the Crown of Great Britain, within 150,000 square miles as large as the whole of Europe—in extent of territory surpassing the United States, exclusive of Alaska, by more than 400,000 square miles. It is not enough to say that this is the greatest colony in the world. Consider properly its natural resources, its physical grandeur, the variety of both grandeur and resources, and the mind wearies in contemplating the possibilities of empire in a region so marvellously endowed. This country, lying between the latitude of Rome and the North Pole, is approached by the unrivalled water-gate of the St. Lawrence. On the left, to the south, keeping watch and ward over the enormous gulf, lie three thriving maritime colonies, constituting together probably the largest and most general shipowning community in the world per head of the population.

Let us stay for a few moments and glance at these three provinces—Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick. They have the united area of 32,140,173 acres, or more than 50,000 square miles, with a population of 767,415, the average being only  $15\frac{1}{2}$  persons per square mile. Of the 32,000,000 of acres it is stated that 25,500,000 are good settlement lands, of which New Brunswick has 14,000,000, Nova Scotia 10,000,000, and Prince Edward Island 1,500,000. The cereals, root, and fruit crops of Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia, and the magnificent savannah lands of New Brunswick, are

almost proverbial in North America. 29,000,000, of acres of these provinces are forest lands, and, making allowance for the large proportion of these which are of no value, there still remain enormous quantities of lumber of the best quality. The value of the total exports of lumber from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in the fiscal year ending June, 1873, was \$5,328,954. From St. John, N.B., alone, 347,181 tons of shipping were engaged in carrying its export of wood. If we turn to the register of shipping we shall find some astonishing items. Nova Scotia owns 430,000 tons, New Brunswick 300,000 tons, Prince Edward Island 40,000 tons, total 770,000 tons, or about a ton of shipping to each head of the population. The St. John *Daily Telegraph* challenges with just pride any one to find a country, province, state, or community in the whole world, equal in population, and of whom not more than 100,000 live in the cities or large towns, whose people own as much shipping as the maritime provinces. "If," says the *Telegraph*, "all Canada owned shipping in the same proportion, we should have as large a mercantile marine as the United States. As it is even now we are not so far behind them in sea-going vessels, and we can point with pride to the fact that St. John, with its 250,000 tons of shipping, is the fourth town as regards shipping in the British Empire—only being surpassed by Liverpool, London, and Glasgow—and owns more sea-going vessels than either New York or Philadelphia, a pretty good exhibit for 50,000 people." Or, take again the fisheries; for the calendar year 1873 the fish product of the three maritime provinces reaches a total of \$9,060,000. This product is nearly doubled by the United States fishing in English waters. In minerals the provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick are peculiarly rich, with the great advantage of proximity to the world's commerce. Coal, iron, gold, and stone already yield considerable returns. There is no doubt that both have iron of the very best quality in as favourable proximity to vast coal measures as it is in Great Britain. Nearly 1,000 miles of railway are already in operation, and 545 more are in course of construction.



If you glance at the map you will observe that Nova Scotia constitutes a peninsula, connected by the isthmus of Chignecto with the province of New Brunswick, and that, consequently, the communication of the river and gulf of the St. Lawrence with the Bay of Fundy and the Atlantic ports of the United States can only be established either by going round Cape Breton or by sailing through the Strait of Canso. It is intended to connect the gulf of the St. Lawrence with the Bay of Fundy by a canal at Baie Verte, which will save between the upper parts of the St. Lawrence and New York more than 500 miles of navigation, to Boston and Portland 400 miles, and to St. John at least 300 miles. In the mouth of the gulf lies Newfoundland, having advantages of position and containing within itself undeveloped sources of riches and national strength, which might well stay our inquiry for this whole evening, were we not bound to hasten on to vaster areas and more wonderful storehouses of nature. 1,200 miles round, the whole coast swarming with fish, it has regions wholly unexplored of richly wooded lands and fine alluvial soil. Mr. Murray, the provincial geologist, has during the summer reported to his Government the discovery upon the Gander River of vast forests of valuable timber, and of a country capable of supporting an agricultural population of at least 100,000 people; and this is but an instalment of future promise.

Passing through the Straits of Belle Isle you enter upon inland waters stretching inwards for 2,200 miles. The distance to Lake Ontario is 700 miles, and a vessel of 4,000 tons can steam unobstructed to Montreal, a distance little short of 600 miles from the entrance of the River St. Lawrence. On either side is an endless panorama of boldness and beauty, of wildness and cultivation, from the highland mountains of Gaspé to the smiling fields and quaint villages of the Isle d'Orleans stretched out in a patchwork of cultivation. This is the province of Quebec. And what a province! Let me group together a few facts about it. Its length between 700 and 1,000 miles, its breadth about 300. In area it occupies 193,355 square miles, or nearly 124,000,000 of acres.

To this enormous territory there is at present only a population of 1,191,500, or 6.16 persons per square mile. Yet, one of the oldest colonies in America, imbued with many of the characteristics of an old society, it is well worth statistical or historical research. Nearly one million French-speaking Roman Catholics here live, proud of the privilege of British citizenship, while retaining their language, their Breton and Normandy *patois* and songs, their quaint and simple manners and habits of thought. Few people in England know what a field of delightful and picturesque study is within ten days of them in British domain, and ensconced on the very borders of the blaring and novel civilization of America. Turning from the insufficient population to the capacities and attractions of this province, we shall be amazed that it has not developed more rapidly resources more various and splendid than those of any State of the American Union. Fisheries along the Gulf of the St. Lawrence and the Labrador coast, ample to support the whole fishing population of Norway and Sweden; timber limits untouched and unsurveyed, covering 107,000,000 of acres; riverine valleys and stretches of plain in the latitudes of Liverpool, London, and Paris, their situation modifying those extremes of temperature which alarm the ignorant, but are viewed by the expert as beneficent climatic conditions, endowing this great province with advantages in health and wealth beyond those of any more southern areas. The most recent surveys of the vast stretches of country in the rear of the settled strips along the northern banks of the St. Lawrence and Ottawa Rivers indicate that there lie here undisturbed territories, with soil, climate, and capabilities of access and production, equal to anything yet occupied within the province. The extent of its mineral wealth is as yet only guessed at; but it is known by survey and experience to be enormous. Gold, silver, copper, iron, lead, plumbago, zinc, and other metals—here, within easy reach of English capital, under the protection of British Government, are fields far transcending in promise, security, and facility of access the distant foreign

El Dorados which so often delude the adventurous speculator. Quebec has been too long shut out from English enterprise, and deserves more attention from the scientific man, the capitalist, and the emigrant. Its fisheries alone would, if properly worked, produce a great revenue. On the shores of the little island of Anticosti, which is 140 miles long, almost uninhabited, a schooner has been known to catch 1,100 barrels of herrings in one day. Codfish and halibut abound, and there is, on Sir William Logan's authority, an arable soil inferior to none on the continent. Here, within eight or nine days of England by steamer, lies this rich pendicle of Quebec, in the possession of some hundred persons, or one to every 260 square miles. On the mainland the vigour of the Provincial Government and of local capitalists is opening the way into new country, or improving communication in the old, by several important railways, one at least of which promises to reduce considerably the distance between the maritime provinces and the Dominion.

But returning to our original journey, we must hasten on.

From Montreal the astonished visitor may take steamer up the St. Lawrence or the Ottawa, the latter leading him, should he choose to pursue his way by water beyond the last steamboat wharf, towards the very limits of the province of Quebec, to the latitudes inhabited in Europe by immense populations, but, by an absurd perversity, deemed to be in America too "northern" for ordinary human beings; but yet, at all events, affording work enough for the lumberman and his axe for some generations. Or, should the traveller prefer to follow the larger river, he can proceed to the heart of the province of Ontario—itself the very heart and life of the Dominion. The population of Quebec is 1,191,576, and of Ontario, 1,620,850. This province runs south-westerly along the bank of the St. Lawrence to the lake of its own name, still keeping a south-westerly direction along Lake Erie, then skirting northwards the great Lake Huron, with its huge embrasure, the Georgian Bay, and passing along the north of Lake Superior to a boundary, as yet unsettled, lying between longitude 85 and 90 west.

Let me try by a few statistics to give an idea of this magnificent province. In length, from south-east to north-west, about 750 miles, and from north-east to south-west, about 500 miles; its area, including the inward rivers and lakes, but excluding the vast inland seas which bound it, is 107,780 square miles, or 68,979,372 acres. The provincial rights in the St. Lawrence and the lakes extend over 27,094 square miles. It is only necessary to look at the latitude of this beautiful country, to be told that the greater portion of its settled districts and a practically unlimited part of its unsettled portions consist of a superior, fertile soil, to be assured of the variety of its agricultural wealth, the extent of its capacity, and what in these vast regions is of immense consequence, the facilities of communication which the great water-gate of the St. Lawrence gives it with all parts of the world. The great peninsula which stretches between Lake Huron and Lake Erie is undoubtedly becoming one of the richest agricultural districts in North America. The wheat which is raised here, paying a duty of 1s. a bushel, can be sold in the United States in preference to their native-grown wheat. Indian corn comes to perfection; the other cereals and root crops, as might be expected, are of a superior character; and such fruits as apples, plums, peaches, and grapes are not readily to be excelled. If you look over the surface of those great districts which have only within a comparatively recent period been opened up for settlement, you will see that it is diversified by lakes which in Europe would be considered enormous, by chains of smaller lakes, and by numerous rivers which carry their fertilizing influence in every direction, and enable the inhabitants to communicate by steam from lake to lake and river to river with the greatest facility. Here also, the capitalist may find ready to his hand the means of untold wealth. Iron, copper, lead, plumbago, manganese, silver, and gold are found in various parts. The mineral wealth of the northern shore of Lake Superior has often engaged the superlatives of tourists and geologists, but it is doubtful whether any of them have

been able to express an adequate estimate of the richness of the region. We only know that at Silver Islet and in its immediate vicinity on the shore of the lake, there exist some of the richest veins of silver in the world, and it cannot be doubted that as soon as the energies of population and the enterprise of capitalists shall have been directed upon that region of treasure, there will be developed there alone the means of employment and sustenance for a mining population greater than that of the whole of England.

The English visitor who goes amongst the people of this province finds here that he is with brethren and friends. Though almost every nationality in Europe, from Iceland to Italy, has its representatives, the mainstays of the population are those from the British Islands. Their physical vigour, their British energy, their loyalty to the Crown, their love for the country from which they have sprung, the air of British society, with its manners and tone, which pervades the whole community, makes one feel that here we have but a transfer to a larger area—under novel conditions, it is true—of a piece of Great Britain. We shall find that amongst these people there are a particular freedom, a strength and activity of political thought and action, toned nevertheless by a sound conservative common sense essentially British, which distinguishes them markedly from their mercurial Republican neighbours on the other side of the river and lakes which form the boundary between the two countries. The population is already about 1,620,000, and, affording as it now does a large field for the absorption of labour, it promises within the next few years to increase in a ratio equal to that of some of the most successful of the Western States. Not many years ago the statesmen of Ontario appeared to be entirely ignorant of the real extent of its resources. One or two even ventured to state publicly that all its cultivable land had been already surveyed and settled; but as settlements were pushed further and further to the north, it was found that among the lakes and rivers, though here and there the spurs of the great Laurentian chain interposed



a dreary obstacle to settlement, there were valleys of great richness, and areas of the best land for agricultural purposes. But within the last ten years the gradually advancing waves of population have broken further and further into the interior, and it has been found that Ontario has not yet more than half developed her resources. It is indeed a province of which any Englishman may be proud. On every side he sees in railways and roads, and thriving towns and a busy trade, the proofs of a growing State; and should he visit the borders of settlement and see how rapidly civilization is encroaching on the ancient, undisturbed domain of the forest, he may be disposed to turn back contented, and say: "At length I have reached the borders of Empire."

But in sooth he has only made a stage. He is but one-third of the way across the great Dominion. At least 40 degrees of longitude intervene between him and the Western Pacific coast. It is this intermediate territory, of which it is impossible in any condensed relation to give an adequate idea, which has been handed over to the Dominion Government to govern, to develop, to populate, and to convert into an empire larger and, I think I may truthfully say, more vigorous and powerful than that of the United States. Starting from the boundaries of Ontario on our way across this tremendous territory, we come to a small square of it, which is a sort of midway station across the continent—the province of Manitoba. Compared with the province we have been considering this is like Lot's city, but a little one, containing only some 9,177,600 acres, all lying south of the latitude of London. The great prairie of middle America stretches up into this province, affording to the agriculturist fields of loam as rich as that of the Western States, but, from the position in which the province lies, in a climate which is superior. You may read in official publications the evidence of experienced farmers, who assert that the wheat and the root crops of this region excel anything they have ever seen in the best-cultivated districts of England or of any part of the American continent. Wheat weighing from 64 to 68 pounds to the bushel on

land bearing 32, 36 and 40 bushels an acre ; potatoes and other roots of gigantic proportions ; the wheat testified by no less an authority than the Agricultural Bureau at Washington to be of an extraordinary quality. Such are the facts now made familiar by the Government of Canada in its emigration literature.

Stretching out a map of the intermediate tract from Red River to the Rocky Mountains you can observe for yourselves one or two remarkable facts. Look to the south of this territory in the United States and you vainly seek for those sources of fertility and climatic salubrity—frequent rivers and lakes. But here, almost from the head of Lake Superior, you track a gigantic system of lakes and rivers, with innumerable feeders and outlets, extending from 1,200 or 1,300 miles to the foot of the Rocky Mountains, from the snow-capped peaks of which this amazing system originates. Captain Butler says that the forks of the Saskatchewan a little to the east of longitude 105 can, by the construction of a canal 100 miles in length, of an easy course, be brought into direct connection with the St. Lawrence, and allow of sending steamers to Quebec without breaking bulk. During the last summer a single steamer has navigated the Saskatchewan, proving that with little difficulty an internal navigation of over 800 miles can be opened through the North-west. The consenting testimony of the comparatively few witnesses to whom we can refer for an opinion of the capabilities of this region is that, however limitless the tracts of desert to north and south, a great valley, bright with the radiance of life, gloomed with no shadow of death, offers exhaustless welcome to millions of settlers. Speaking of the vast American desert to the west of the 95th parallel, which brings up short the ambitious progress of the United States, Captain Butler says:—"How it came to pass in the world that to the north of that great region of sand and waste should spread out suddenly the fair country of the Saskatchewan, I must leave to the guess-work of other and more scientific writers ; but the fact remains that alone from Texas to the subarctic forests the Saskat-

chewan valley lays its fair length for 800 miles in unmixed fertility."

Hind, Archbishop Taché, Butler, Palliser, and Selwyn, the reports of the exploring parties for the Pacific Railway, all confirm this fact. Of the western curve of the fertile belt, especially that portion through the Blackfeet country (of most of which Butler in winter spoke so slightly), extending for 300 miles along the eastern faces of the Rocky Mountains, with a varying breadth of from sixty to eighty miles—one scientific and official observer speaks as "the future garden of the Dominion," magnificent with regard to scenery, with soil of surpassing richness, and in respect of climate with an average temperature during the winter months 15 deg. higher than that of the western portion of Ontario. Here, as yet uninhabited except by the roving Indian and the wild animals of the prairies and forest, are undoubtedly regions of cultivable land, and of a climate as salubrious for a hardy race as any in the world; an area greater than that now inhabited by 40,000,000 of American citizens. The tide of emigration, which has been bearing upon the centre of the American continent, and been rolling westward in great waves, is now checked by the impassable borders of the great American desert. Who can doubt that it will diverge to the north, and bear its currents of life and civilization up the great valley of the Saskatchewan?

The last link in this long chain of empire is British Columbia, on the western coast, combining in itself almost all the advantages possessed by the most favoured northern countries of Europe, with a concentration and variety of wealth and solidity of promise which, could it only be reached by population, would make of it alone a mighty nation. We shall see directly that British Columbia has, in its situation, climatic advantages rivalling those of Great Britain. A great stream running from the tropics impinges upon its coast and disseminates its salubrious influences over an extent of country much greater than that of the British Isles. The facts related about this wonderful region, whether as regards its



agricultural capacity or its mineral riches, are almost incredible. It is said that in its forests are trees of six, ten or even twenty-seven to thirty feet in diameter, some of them ranging from 150 to 300 feet in length without knots or branches. The total area is 350,000 square miles, of which the wheat area south of lat. 55 deg. N. is 96,000,000 acres. \$22,000,000 of gold have been extracted from its gold mines, which can scarcely be said to have been as yet fairly explored. Its coal fields, in which are found veins unexampled in size and quality, will probably before long be the chief source of supply for Pacific navigation. The result of recent explorations of these coal fields gives these surprising facts. The productive area may be safely considered to be at least 300 square miles. Following the rule applied to coal fields in South Wales, the Union Mine at Cromot alone would yield 16,000,000 tons per square mile, and the Baynes Sound Mine 7,860,000 tons per square mile. The total thickness, it is stated, of the coal measures in the Nanaimo coal fields may be safely estimated at 2,500 feet. It will be seen at once how important this place—so fortunately situated, so richly endowed by Nature—is likely to become. The Canadian Pacific Railway will place New Westminster some 500 miles nearer London than San Francisco. The railway will run upon a lower and more level grade. The greater part of it will pass, as we have seen, not like the Union Pacific Railway through a desert, but through a country capable of bearing a vast population. No harbours like those of British Columbia can be found on the Pacific coast, and when communications are established and trade is developed between the Pacific shores of the Dominion and China, Japan, and even Australia, who can doubt the important part which British Columbia is destined to play in the history of the British Empire.

Thus we have surveyed from end to end this domain, which we love to look upon as but a vast suburb of Great Britain. I have shown that from Newfoundland to the north of Lake Superior there is yet room for an enormous additional population, and that soil remains untilled,

promising industries are neglected, and mines of wealth lie unregarded alike by the capitalist and the labourer. In Great Britain the movements which are going on in society around us need cause us less anxiety when we see such an outlet for ill-paid or discontented labourers, such a field for superabundant capital. If, for instance, the wages of labourers in some of the agricultural districts prove that two men are looking after one man's work, it is not enough that economists should tell us that it would be possible by financial and economic reforms—which it would take probably a century to effect—to mitigate the unhappy lot of a struggling population; or if, looking at the disputes which have taken place during the last two years in the coal and iron trades, we see from the fact that, while for so great a length of time large bodies of men ceased to be productive, nevertheless prices are falling and wages are decreased, it is a mathematical demonstration that in that market also there exists at this moment a surplus of labour. Is this surplus to continue to introduce its disturbing elements into the social crucible, or is it to be turned into the wider and more elastic moulds which British colonies afford? Or, again, it is not improbable that amongst the results of the great movement in the agricultural districts, one of the most important will be that the small farmers will find it impossible to hold their ground. They have some capital, they have energy, they have knowledge and experience, and many of them have families, to aid them. For such people as these, driven from the land in which they and their fathers for generations, perhaps, have settled, what better alternative can be offered than large farms of rich land at moderate prices, in a Dominion governed by British laws, without the restraint and obstructions of vested interests and social prejudices, amongst neighbours and friends who are at once brothers and compatriots. This is the nearest colony to Great Britain; this is the colony in which the climate is best suited to the vigorous and active energies of the natives of Great Britain. This is the country which, lying alongside of one great nation, in which there is a daily increasing demand for its agricul-

tural products, and within so easy reach of the other great nation to which it is akin, is the most ready field for British emigration. With laws like our own, under the same Sovereign, with a people who in race are our brethren and in characteristics our compeers, is it a foolish fancy to look forward to the time when this shall be the greatest suburb to the metropolitan centre of the British Empire? Let us now take a comprehensive glance at the Dominion in regard to some of its general characteristics. The superficial area of Canada, including Newfoundland, is over 3,500,000 square miles, or about 150,000 square miles less than the whole of Europe, in the latitude of the greater part of which it lies. The whole of the United States, including Alaska, is only 3,390,000 square miles, or 110,000 less than Canada; and, as we have repeatedly to recognize, Canada has a larger territory fit for population than the United States.

In a few sentences I may disabuse your minds of erroneous ideas regarding the Canadian climate, which are very prevalent. For the production of cereals the climate of the greater part of Canada is superior to that of the United States, and is equal to that of the best grain-growing countries of Europe. Over the latter it has the advantage of higher summer temperature, and more summer rain—this is the secret of its superiority over the Republic. The western half of the United States from the 100th meridian is desert—scorched by similar hot summer winds to those which, commencing on the West Coast of Africa, blow across the vast eastern continent, creating a band of death and desolation. “It is questionable whether there is an acre of what a Canadian or English farmer would call good land for wheat and cultivable grasses between the Mississippi and Pacific slope.” Now, grain and grasses ripen best in a summer of 60 to 70 degrees. The summers of a vast region across the centre of the Dominion are in this fertile range, with a summer rainfall shown by tables to be ample. The summers of such States as Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, whither too many English farmers and labourers have gone, are 10 degrees to 15 degrees higher than those of the best grain and grass

districts, and 10 degrees too high for wheat, barley, &c., and the cultivable grasses. Facts are confirmative of these theories. "The three decennial censuses of Canada show that she produces more abundant and surer crops of cereals, grains, grasses, and roots, and of better quality, than any of the States of the Republic." The Canadian census of 1851 showed that even then Canada produced one-sixth as much wheat as all the thirty-one States and four Territories, half as much peas, over one-seventh as much oats, one-quarter as much barley, and nearly one-eighth as much hay. In 1860 and 1861 she had one-sixth in wheat, between a quarter and one-fifth in oats, in barley one-third, and in peas nearly equal to 34 States and Territories. Consider the positions of Canada and the United States relatively to Europe, and you will readily understand this. The parts of Europe north of latitude 45 degrees embrace the British Islands, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, Belgium, Holland, Austria, Hungary, Switzerland, Lombardy, part of Sardinia, and most of France and Russia. The chief grain and grazing portions of Europe are in the higher parts of the temperate zone, and so they will be on the American continent. The whole of the United States east of the lakes, except Maine, is south of 45 degrees. The enormous water system of Canada tends to improve its climate for agriculture, and the shores of British Columbia are made temperate by a warm ocean current, resembling the Gulf Stream.

It is stated that there are in the Dominion 1,500 lakes and rivers. In its extreme breadth from ocean to ocean, from the 49th parallel of north latitude, it stretches for 3,066 geographical miles. In its greatest depth it is 2,150 geographical miles. The basin of the St. Lawrence and its estuary comprises an area of about 530,000 square miles. The great lakes cover about 130,000 square miles of this vast cistern. Passing up beyond this, Lake Winnipeg is 500 miles in length, and through it and its sister lakes, the Manitoba and the Winnipegosis, we communicate with the Saskatchewan, which runs for 900 miles from the Rocky Mountains. The Dominion is surrounded



by more than 11,000 miles of sea-coast. Of course, a vast portion of this, towards the Arctic region, is not only uninhabitable, but cannot be reached for fishing purposes. Still there are left along the coasts of Labrador, in the Gulf of the St. Lawrence, in Hudson's Bay, and on the Pacific coast inconceivable quantities of marketable fish. But these supplies are not confined to the sea-coast; the great lakes of the interior, and the still great, though lesser waters of Ontario and the North-west territories, abound with fish, which is a favorite food with the inhabitants. The fisheries of the Dominion produced, in 1870, \$6,577,392; in 1871, \$9,570,116. In financial position Canada occupies a very proud and healthy elevation. Her debt does not exceed \$120,000,000, or, taking the population at 4,000,000, about £6 3s. 3d. sterling per head. Few of the colonies can exhibit such a balance-sheet, and none such resources. More than half of this debt is represented by public works, canals, harbours, lighthouses, river improvements, railways, &c., and over \$40,000,000 by railway and provincial securities. In four years—namely, from 1869 to 1873—the trade of the Dominion leaped up from \$128,000,000 to \$217,304,516, an increase of nearly 89½ millions. The total value of the exports from the Dominion for the fiscal year ending June, 1873, was \$90,610,573, and of the imports \$126,586,523. The banking statistics of Canada show a steady growth, combined with a strength of position her Republican neighbours might well envy. The panic of 1873–4 in the United States affected Canada little. Her banks stood firm, and it will be shown by the statistics of 1874 how superior her people were to their neighbours in caution and resource. The paid-up capital in Canadian banks for the year 1872–3 amounted to \$55,102,959; circulation, \$29,516,046.

From June, 1870, the banking capital rose from \$29,801,000 to \$55,102,000 in 1873.

In one year, 1872–3, the capital rose from \$44,741,000 to \$55,102,000, an increase of 22·08 per cent.

The joint circulation of Government and banks for 1872–3 was 33 to 40 million dollars per month.

The circulation and deposits of Ontario and Quebec for 1864 and 1874 were:—

	1864.	1874.	Increase.
Circulation -	\$9,748,000	\$33,188,000	340 per cent.
Deposits -	24,575,000	76,090,000	310 per cent.

Nothing perhaps more signally illustrates the different characteristics of Canada and the Republic than their municipal, provincial, and Dominion affairs of finance. Instead of reckless and corrupt public expenditure, or wild, immoral, and private speculation, even the worst days of Canadian political finance have shown no such wholesale rottenness as seems to have entered into the very veins of Republican administration and society; her private monetary adventures have been generally free from the mad indifference to consequences which sometimes appears to possess that mercurial people, and from time to time involve so many of them in disastrous ruin—a ruin which their temperament enables them to face with equanimity.

I do not wish to institute a comparison with other colonies, but I venture to say before a company of Manchester merchants that for safe investment there is no field now open to British capital superior to Canada. There have been, it is true, some slight indications of a speculative epidemic in railways and in town lands—a natural impulse, no doubt, from the marvellous development of the new Confederation. But it will not find congenial soil. The people as a rule are cautious and steady; their modes of business are more British than Yankee. It ought to be known that money can be safely invested to pay from 7 to 10 per cent. on mortgage of town or agricultural lands, with most ample margin, in Ontario and Quebec; that judicious investments at superior rates of interest can constantly be made in the securities of railways (managed and financed on the spot and not by able boards of ignoramuses in London), in steamboat companies, and in municipal and financial debentures of good security. Among the mines of Nova Scotia, Quebec, and Lake Superior, it must be that before long

English capitalists will fall upon fortunes that will realize Dr. Johnson's aphorism of the "potentiality of wealth beyond the dreams of avarice."

This, then, in the boldest outline, is the Dominion of confederate colonies, upon the political constitution and the natural and commercial resources of which I was asked to-night to give a disquisition. It is clear enough from the time it has taken to draft this mere outline, that to perform the task in any adequate degree was simply impossible. No single camera can take in the view; no single canvas would contain the picture. You must be content with but a few side glimpses of its national life.

One of the commonest errors among the ignorant classes in Great Britain is to confound Canada with the United States. That error has been assiduously cultivated by the agents of American railway and land companies, and has seriously injured the colony with the emigrating population. It is almost as frequent an error of better-cultivated people to confound Canadians with Yankees, and to conceive that there is little in the politics, the social life, the tone and manner of the Canadian people, distinctive from those of the United States. If in some unfortunate instances of Canadian travellers and Canadian newspapers there may appear to be just grounds for this confusion, it is nevertheless, as regards Canada, a serious blunder. With many of the characteristics of a new community, developing its strength with a rapidity and freedom unobstructed by old rules, habits, customs, and privileges, the Canadian Government and people are, nevertheless, markedly different from the Government and people of the United States. In the one you have universal suffrage, in the other property qualification; in the one institutions purely democratic, in the other ample popular freedom without the libertinism of a Republican Government; in the one you have a society bent upon the reduction of every individual to one level, in the other a judicious, without a bigoted and tyrannical, recognition of the diversities of human ability and position; in the one you have a quaint commingling of habits and manners, half continental, half English, in the other you

have more of the sedateness and perhaps more of the rough but solid capacity of the British character; in the one you have the relation of the executive to the country constantly involving political difficulty and danger, in the other order is established on a footing as secure as the throne of Great Britain. The difference is remarkable. You notice it as soon as you have passed the line. It runs through all society, and it modifies every relation of life.

Another remarkable feature of these new communities is the freedom and elasticity of their politics, their legislation, and even their administration. To begin with the latter, it would probably strike an English official aghast to visit Ottawa and view the Ministry and officials in harness. There is red-tape in Canada, as there is I suppose in every official community, but they manage to run very little of it off the reel. The office of the Premier is protected from the public by a small ante-room, where the messengers intercept visitors of every class and station, who come on the smallest occasions for a personal interview. If it is a matter which can be settled by a few words to another Minister he will put on his hat and accompany his visitor to that Minister's room. Notes or memoranda save many despatches, and instead of posting acres of correspondence about the public buildings the Minister will make a call or send a message. But this accessibility and freedom, according to my observation, is essentially different from that of the United States. It is not based on the "I'm-as-good-as-you" and "you're-my-servant" principle, which draws out of American society that best and stiffest fibre of all society, the recognition of relative rights; but it is the curtness, the facility of business men, who always in their bluntest moments strive to make it understood that they rest upon the amenities of life. When you get a Canadian imbued with the Yankee notions of equality you get what Artemus Ward would term the "cussedest of cusses;" but, thank God, such creatures are the exception in Canadian experience.



What I have called "the freedom and elasticity of politics and legislation" has been evinced a hundred times in the experience of the Canadian provinces. Could I to-night review the history of constitutional reforms, of educational, ecclesiastical, or social measures in the maritime provinces and in Quebec with their Catholic population, in Ontario with its many elements of fiery political disturbance, it would, with all its untoward incidents, be an astonishing, and to us who live in England an almost incredible, tale of mutual forbearance for the general interest.

Take an instance in which religious or merely class passions are little, if at all, involved—the reform of local Government. In England this has been a task Herculean, at which man of power after man of power has tried his strength and either wholly failed or produced but puny remedies. Boundaries of municipalities, bounds of constituencies, bounds of counties, of parishes, and unions, and then of local Government districts, and boards of health, there they lie, each of them defended by a garrison; and who dare try to readjust them? But here before me is a masterly-drawn Act of 515 sections, passed in one session of the Ontario Legislature, and intitled, "The Municipal Institutions Act," which collects, codifies, and amends the laws regulating the municipal Government in all its branches for that province. It is preceded, with unique judgment, by a synopsis and analytical index in thirty-two closely-printed pages. In the Act is set forth the law regulating the model municipal constitution of Ontario, with its grades of counties or united counties, townships, cities, towns, and villages. Representative councils in each case manage the affairs of their special jurisdiction. In the counties the council consists of the reeves or deputy reeves of those townships and villages within the county which have not withdrawn from county jurisdiction, as they may by certain formalities. Cities have mayors and aldermen, towns mayors and councillors, with a reeve and deputy reeve in certain cases. A village or township council consists of a reeve and four councillors, with additions in certain cases.

This vast system is worked out with the greatest simplicity and ease. It is elastic and facile in its movement. Provision is made for the continual changes in population, for the occupation of new territory, the addition of fresh municipalities, and the gradual absorption into the municipal system of the country. One looks at this piece of legal art from amidst the rough and intractable arrangements of England, with an envy at its superiority, which is scarcely tinged with a hope of ever being able to rival it. What is the reason of the difference in the treatment of such questions there and here? *They* are impelled by the general necessities of progress; *we* are obstructed by long-crystallized privileges and deeply-rooted institutions. There is bigotry in Canada, a bigotry of many sects and of many phases of thought, and it does complicate, nay sometimes obstruct, legislation; but it has not that immovable spirit, that conservative stupidity, which neither admits the inevitable nor looks for solutions. What is the reason of this? First, I think it is the fact that the whole body social and politic is in motion—nothing can stop its progress. Even Quebec, with ancient traditions and an old organization, is compelled to move on. The spirit of progress rushes into it and through it, and every man feels the impulse. The whole Dominion is instinct with life and the growth of life. I am no materialist, but I do believe in the awakening influences of material prosperity. Secondly, there is its distribution. In proportion as that prosperity is fairly distributed throughout a community will the community wake up and live. Restrict it to a few, surround it with privilege, vest it in fractions of society, net it round with complicated exclusive laws and customs, leave the great balance of society outside its benefits, and your material prosperity will only intensify the disintegrating influences just as it exaggerates the disproportion. In Great Britain we boast of our material prosperity, but we look with terror on its concomitant conditions. Economists may swear that it reaches and blesses the whole community, but a stroll in the slums of a city, or along the byways of a country district, gives the lie to the statement. If you want to

know what material prosperity means in a life-giving sense to the whole community, you must go to American and Colonial States, and see how generally distributed wealth improves the conditions of social harmony and human co-operation. Then will you best understand how great philanthropists, as well as eminent statesmen, have been those men who have striven by political reforms in Great Britian to equalize, and to improve in equalizing, the political status of the people, or by economic legislation to distribute more equably the blessings of material prosperity.

I think I have now incidentally answered most of the questions that would naturally have occurred to the majority of my audience, unless perhaps on one or two points of political importance, with regard, however, to which it might not be in place for me, considering my official relations, to express an opinion. But on the face of such facts as I have adduced, disquisitions on Government and politics seem to dwindle in importance. As I have said, progress and material prosperity loom up first into view, and from these Government and politics take much of their shape and direction. I have presumed to-night that you did not desire from me a constitutional dissertation. The form of the Government of the Dominion was written upon our statute-book in the Act of 1867, and appears to be more intelligently understood by Englishmen than are the circumstances of the country which was thereby legislated upon. What you desire to know is how the government machine works, and my answer is that the results appear in the marvellous development of the Dominion since the confederation in 1867. You are probably aware that the confederation of the British provinces was hastened by the alarming and significant hints from time to time thrown out by British statesmen. It was supposed to be, and in effect it actually was, the theory of the school of politicians which took its name from Manchester, that colonies were but a burden and useless expense to Great Britain ; and Mr. Goldwin Smith was then a prominent advocate of views which possibly at this moment he would not be prepared to

propound. Mr. Roebuck, who had at one time represented the colony in this country, with his characteristic wrong-headedness, was amongst the most noteworthy of those who expressed the view that the sooner Canada was separated from Great Britain the better for her and for us. Opinion has grown. Facts have fought for the Imperialist dogma. I cannot conceive that to-night there will be many in this Reform Club who will be prepared, after what they have heard, to get up and endorse that opinion. An additional incentive to confederation was no doubt the anomaly of the position of the North American Provinces. Responsible government had been conceded to each of them; they had popular representatives; taxation by representative bodies; their officials were appointed by local governments, and only the Governor was nominated by the Crown. Like the Province of Australia, they were isolated, their tariffs were different, each province was foreign to the other. The custom houses on the frontiers interposed between States under the same Imperial Government. Each province had its distinct postal regulations. There was no harmony of action, as there was no unity or sympathy in government. In these different communities the consciousness of their anomalous position no doubt gave opportunity and strength to that party—never a very large one, but occasionally a very active one—which was in favor of annexation to the United States. Independence then was of course a dream. But when it was suggested that Canada should be left to its fate by the Government and the Empire of which she was one of the brightest jewels, men's minds turned by general consent to the question whether nothing could be done to unite her into a nation capable of supporting itself should it be obliged to become independent, or, in the hoped-for continuity of its relations to the British Empire, able to insist upon and maintain those relations on a more equitable basis. For ten years, from 1854 to 1864, here and there men of some eminence in the various provinces propounded ideas of confederation, but their speeches led to no practical results. The solution was brought about by a dead-lock in the Legislature of Canada, which then



embraced the existing provinces of Ontario and Quebec. I might have cited this great confederate scheme as one of the instances of the flexibility of Canadian politics. So soon as it was seen that union was a necessity, all things gave way to it. It was settled by a convention in six months, and after considerable discussions, both at home and in the colony, the Act passed the Imperial Legislature in 1867. The ease with which this important measure has been accomplished, especially considering the different interests and various populations, the diverse races and religions, whose status was intimately involved, would seem to show that after all, if public opinion throughout the empire were once to begin to turn in that direction, the diversities of position, the differences of Government, the varieties of social life, might really all be adjusted in harmony with a system of Imperial Government for Imperial purposes, and of local Government for each locality. The action of this great measure was immediately to give a national impulse and stability to the Canadian provinces, which now find themselves bound together by fiscal, postal, railway and canal, and military arrangements. The people are beginning to acquire that national sentiment which alone can enable them to put their country in the position to treat upon an equality with Great Britain as a member of the British Empire. This is a necessary precedent to Imperial federation if ever it is to be accomplished. Speaking to Manchester economists I ought to draw your attention to one point which, in discussing the fiscal policy of the confederation, appears frequently to be overlooked. It must be remembered that in Canada, being a new country, with all the latent resources of which I have to-night spoken, revenue is not only necessary for Government, but is also essential for development. Such a revenue it is averred can only, over so sparsely-settled a country, be levied by indirect taxation. Hence it is important to note that the taxation of Canada is not for protection, but for revenue. Taxes are equally imposed on British and on foreign manufactures, and this was the policy which, after the adoption of free trade in this country, was dictated by Earl Grey to the colonies. In December, 1846, he thus wrote to Lord Elgin:—

“ The same relief from the burden of differential duties which has been granted to the British consumer, the 8th and 9th Vict., c. 94, has enabled their respective Legislatures to be extended to the British Colonies, by empowering them to repeal the differential duties in favour of British produce imposed in these colonies by former Imperial Acts.” “ So far as [this] I can have no doubt that the Colonial Legislatures will gladly avail themselves of the power” thus conferred. The policy of protection, abandoned at the instance of Great Britain, is discarded by the opinion of the majority of the Canadian people. Undoubtedly there are both active and able agitators for protection, actual or incidental, but in face of the position, of the necessities of the Government, and of the difficulties of raising a revenue in another way, it is idle for English Chambers of Commerce and eminent newspaper scribes to accuse the Canadian people either of hostility or indifference to the British connection. No doubt there are instances of incidental protection, and these probably the leaders and adherents of the present Government of Canada will endeavour gradually to remove, because their policy is essentially a liberal policy, based upon a recognition of established principles of economy and of economic administration in the State, however imperfectly they may, in the present situation of affairs, be able to embody these principles in their policy. But, nevertheless, it is clear that the incidental protection I speak of is not sufficient to exclude British trade. In 1871-72 the trade with Great Britain constituted \$87,500,000 or 47·17 per cent. of the whole trade of Canada. Including the trade with other British provinces, the trade exceeded half the whole of the Canadian trade of the year. If you ask whether there is not in Canada a party of manufacturers who are in favour of protection, I am bound to admit that there is; but no one would think of comparing the mere streaks of protective policy in the Canadian political strata with the vast protective conglomerate of the other side of the border. Probably the rapid rush into these colonies of a population interested in selling agricultural products in the dearest market, and buying its requirements in the

cheapest, will be the best antidote to protective heresies, the most fortunate circumstance for British trade. Happily, the severe views of one school of financial reformers and economic enthusiasts about the policy of emigration are being gradually discredited by the mere force of circumstances.

Another very marked result of confederation has been to develop the loyalty of the Canadians into a much more general, practical, and genuine feeling. While no British soldier occupies the citadel of Quebec, or the garrisons of St. John, or Kingston, or Toronto, there is a Canadian militia which can be enrolled up to the number of 700,000 fighting men, which is animated by the military spirit, and inspired by a loyalty as deep and true as that of any Imperial soldier. Harsh and ungenerous as were the terms by which this policy was carried out under Lord Granville, and accompanied by words as unkind and impolitic as the acts, we may perhaps be grateful that it has led to consequences no more disastrous than the development of an independent military power colleague with Great Britain to the north of the great Republic. As for maritime ascendancy, Canada will be able to put upon the ocean as fine and as numerous a body of fighting sailors as the Republic itself. But we may safely regard war with the United States as a bogey invented to frighten British politicians. The Canadians therefore at this moment are not exactly in the position which it was said they once occupied, of mere foster-children hanging upon the breasts of their mother country; but they are men capable of maintaining their own position and of asserting their own rights, and it would be well for both the Government and people of Great Britain to recognize that fact. In this situation their loyalty to the Empire is all the more trustworthy as it is the more remarkable and magnanimous. I think I may safely say that there is growing up an opinion in Canada in favour of permanent union with the British Empire on very equitable terms. I could, were there time, allude to the remarkable utterances of Mr. Blake, one of the most distinguished of Canadian statesmen, who has distinctly and deliberately

thrown himself into the fore-front of the movement in favour of an Imperial Confederation. This, I know, is viewed by some persons, and very eminent persons, in Canada, as well as by a numerous and influential class of the community, as a chimera—so was reform, so was free trade, so was the abolition of the slave trade. But when it is considered that it must be either Imperial confederation or Imperial disintegration, it may be asked whether the man who considers that the probabilities of the permanency of an Empire based upon politic concessions and just recognitions of mutual rights and obligations is less visionary than one who entertains the prospects of a dissociation of the elements of an Empire so strong, so universal, so knit together by ties of kindred, of government, of interest, and of national glory? It is true that there have recently been imputations freely cast upon the loyalty of the members of the existing Government in Canada, by a notorious pumpkin-squeezer in the Tory press. Their treatment of the question of Reciprocity and of the Pacific Railway has been pointed to as indicative of their desire to bring about annexation with the United States. It is not my business to defend or attack the policy of this or that Canadian Government, but upon a question of fact and of probability I may without impropriety make a statement. To my mind no more gross or wanton falsehood could be first of all asserted and then wilfully maintained. There can only be one opinion on the part of anybody who has taken the trouble to look into the financial position of the Dominion at the time the present Government came into power, and at those engagements into which the previous Government had entered with British Columbia—viz., that to carry out those engagements in their integrity would have been a stupid and idle waste of the resources of the Dominion. It would more than have doubled the debt of Canada; it would have taxed her resources—resources better devoted to the development of population and wealth—to the utmost; it would have created a vast and costly Government patronage, and a constant financial derangement which must always have been perilous to good and econo-



mic and honest government. Great as must have been the mortification of Imperial and Canadian statesmen to find that a solemn compact entered into by a Government could not be carried out with justice to 3,500,000 people, whilst it involved an injustice to some few thousands on the distant shores of the Pacific,—I venture to say that no impartial Canadian politician or financier, and no sensible English critic, economist, or statesman, will look upon the conduct of the present Canadian Government in regard to this matter as dictated by anything but sound and necessary policy. As to the libel that their object was disloyal, the practical action of the Canadian Ministry, and especially of the Premier, who is the Minister of Public Works, in pushing forward communications by telegraph and by railway, and in opening the speediest route by water to the Rocky Mountains, proves that their desire is only to hasten that increase of population which will enable Canada to hold her own in agriculture, commerce, and manufactures with the rival Republic.

The Reciprocity Treaty I do not propose to discuss to-night, since it appears by a telegram that it is practically dead; but it is a very curious comment on charges of disloyalty and annexation that the proposals of the Government should have been viewed by the Protectionists of the United States with so much disfavour as to render it impossible to carry the Treaty!

Mr. Mackenzie, the Premier of Canada, has very frankly and clearly expressed his views of the future of Canada. In a speech to the Dominion Board of Trade at Ottawa, in February, 1874, he said :—

“I need not inform Mr. M'Laren and the other American delegates present, for they must, I am sure, be all conscious of it, that it is an established fact that there are to be two nationalities on this Continent. . . . It will be our policy, our ambition, to open up the country and settle our vast territories, which, we hope, will attract a large share of the immigration that is at present flowing into the United States from the old settled countries of Europe. . . . Our friends from the Western States who are present may depend upon it that no effort will be wanting on our part which energy and money can secure, to have the highway of the St. Lawrence made all that our commercial men can desire, at a comparatively early day. And when that highway is completed, instead of there being any talk about our joining the nationality to the South, perhaps a slice of that nationality may wish to join us.”

We have this evening been taking, as it were, a Pisgah view of this great land of promise. Spies have been sent out and have from time to time returned with stories of giant difficulties in the way of settlement, but the best evidences are the facts of progress which have to-night been laid before you. This review must have convinced you of the importance to us of this vast colony as a field for the population which our economy has as yet devised no scheme to enable us adequately and comfortably to support—as a field for the employment of our superabundant capital, which surveys the world from China to Peru in search of opportunities of gain—as a field for the best and noblest expansion of the British race, and wealth, and power. It is no extreme thing to say that the time may come when the Canadian people will take their share in bearing the burdens of empire. When one looks out over the continent of Europe and sees the uneasiness which is prevailing amongst the nations—the huge armaments and military levies which threaten to convert half the population into unproductive bandits, looking for opportunities of violence—we cannot but feel, amidst our anxieties for the future of England, that a time may come when we shall congratulate ourselves that, in facing vast international disturbances on this side of the water, we have at our back the assured loyalty and the infinite resources of our Great Canadian Empire.

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